



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Sullivan. Discourse before the Pilgrim Society,
Plymouth. 1830

12

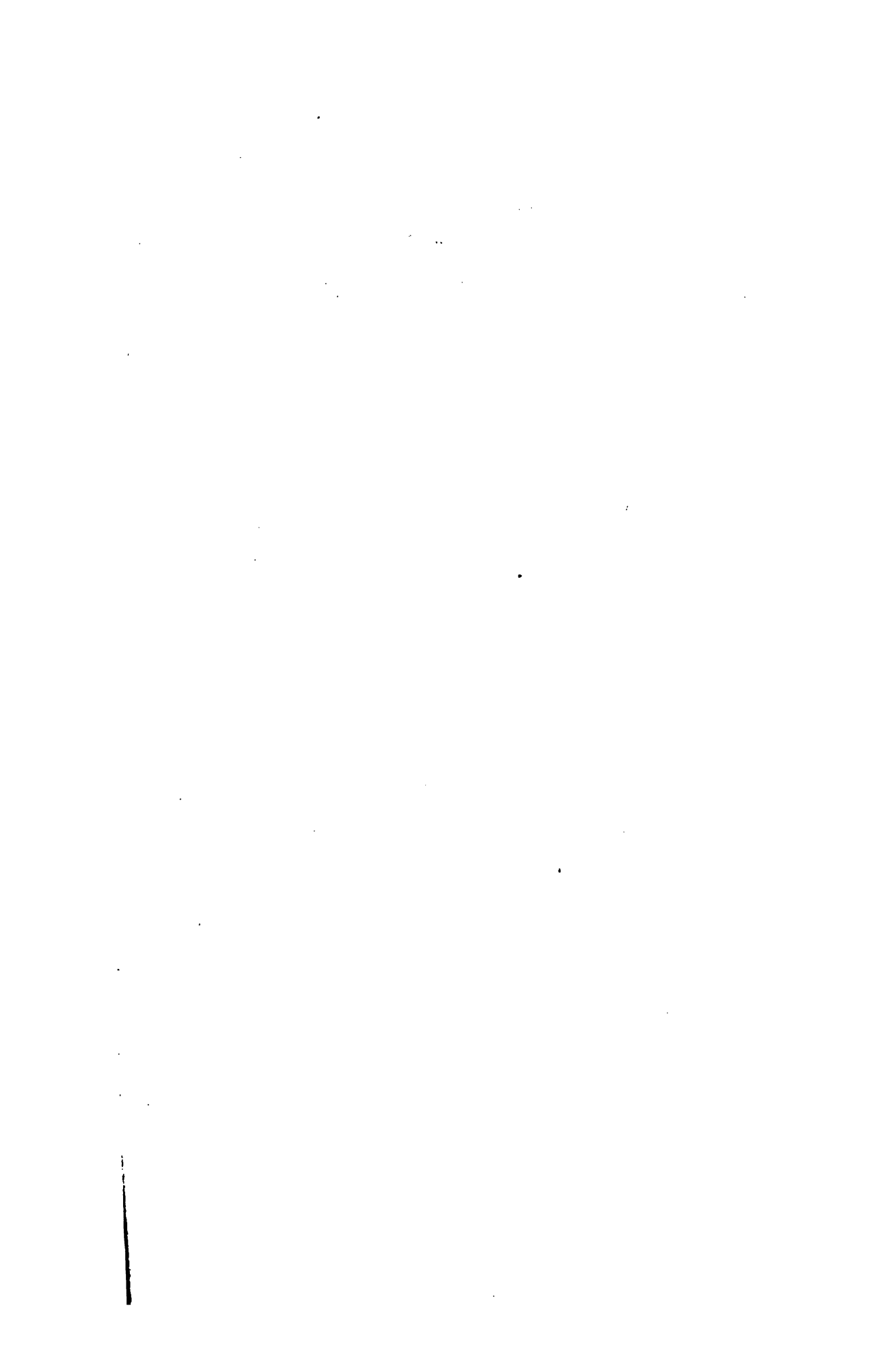


LS 12717.12



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY





correct

Reverend D. Freeman
from his respectful friend,
Wm. Sullivan.

MR. SULLIVAN'S DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED AT

PLYMOUTH.

7

40

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE
PILGRIM SOCIETY, AT PLYMOUTH,

ON THE

TWENTY SECOND DAY OF DECEMBER,

1829.

BY WILLIAM SULLIVAN.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE SOCIETY.

BOSTON.

PUBLISHED BY CARTER AND HENDEE.

MDCCCXXX.

MS 12717.12

v



Rec'd Jan 19, 1843

The life of Mrs. Susan Clarke
by H. W. H.

PRINTED BY ISAAC R. BUTTS, BOSTON.

w



DISCOURSE.

MR PRESIDENT,

AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PILGRIM SOCIETY,—

THE coming of THIS DAY reminds us of the near neighbourhood of pain and pleasure in the human lot.

When you turned your attention to its coming, you foresaw nothing to overshadow its usual brightness. It is come, and that one of your number who took an active part in preparing for your chastened rejoicings, is not among you. It is not yourselves, your Society, and this community only, who are affected, and afflicted by this unexpected loss. Your deceased brother had taken a subject of great and general interest into his diligent and affectionate care; he had devoted himself so closely to the study of the first settlement; he had assisted to bring its true character home, to so many pious and grateful minds; he was so much versed in all its historical details, that his fame had become a common property. The sudden termination of his life is a general bereavement.

The honor which you offered, through the courteous agency of your late Secretary⁽¹⁾ to meet you to-day, is one to be desired ; but not to be accepted without reluctance and apprehension.

While considering what the duty undertaken is, and how it is to be performed, a multitude of objects present themselves for notice. At first, the mind rests on the great event which you are associated to commemorate ; but soon it is drawn away, and attracted through the centuries, which slowly produced that event. It returns to the memorable scene of the landing ; and again it is hurried away, and finds itself descending in the course of time, to the existing day and generation. It stands, fearfully, on that ever advancing boundary, which separates time that has been, from time that shall be ; and holding up the lights which numbered years have left, it vainly attempts to discern, what unnumbered years must unfold. It shrinks before the awful truth, that all which has been, all that is, and all that shall be, flows from the will, and the wisdom, of that ONLY ONE, with whom there is no prospect, no retrospect. Penetrated as it may be with this truth, it cannot escape from the feeling, that the agents in any given time, strongly influence, if they do not determine, the destiny of themselves, and of their successors. What, then, is the duty of the living, to the dead ; of the living, to those that are to live !

In what school can this duty be so profitably learned, as in that in which the Pilgrim Fathers are the teachers ? Your comprehensive philanthropy,

your filial patriotism demand that their precepts and example, should be brought down, and applied to successive ages.

The delicate, and the difficult vocation of the present moment, is, to discourse to you of the past, with that sobriety which the occasion requires; to deal justly, but frankly, with the present;—and to attempt to descry what the future may disclose; but yet to avoid disturbing the expectations and the hopes, which are gratefully and confidently cherished.

To what parts of that long course of cause and effect, which is past and passing into the shadows of antiquity; or moving onward with ourselves; or looked for through the misty coverings of the years that are coming, shall I invite your attention?

How embarrassing is it to select; impossible it is to touch, however lightly, on all that interests and affects the descendants of the Pilgrims. Let us first render our homage to these ILLUSTRIOUS MEN in the days of their adventure and peril. Availing ourselves of a fiction, often less reverentially and piously resorted to, let us be the spectators of the scene in which they were engaged; let us stand upon the shore, which our Fathers were approaching.

Here begins that vast wilderness, which no civilized man has beheld. Whither does it extend, and what is contained within its unmeasured limits? Through what thousands of years has it undergone no change, but in the silent movements of renovation and decay. To how many vernal seasons has it unfolded its leaves;—to how many autumnal frosts

has it yielded its verdure. This unvaried solitude! What has disturbed its tranquillity, through uncounted ages, but the rising of the winds, or the rending of the storms. What sounds have echoed through its deep recesses, but those of craving and of rage from the beasts which it shelters; or the war-song and the war-whoop of its sullen, smileless masters. Man, social, inventive, improving man, his footstep, his handywork, are nowhere discerned. The beings who wear his form have added nothing to knowledge, through all their generations. Like the game which they pursue, they are the same now, which their progenitors were, when their race began. These distant and widely separated columns of smoke, that throw their graceful forms towards the sky, indicate no social, no domestic abodes. The snows have descended to cover the fallen foliage of the departed year; the winds pass, with a mournful sound, through the leafless branches; the Indian has retired to his dark dwelling; and the tenants of the forest, have hidden themselves in the earth, to escape the search of winter.

This ocean that spreads out before us! how many of its mountain waves rise up between us and the abodes of civilized men. Its surges break and echo on this lonely shore, as they did when the storms first waked them from their sleep, without having brought, or carried, any work of human hands, unless it be the frail canoe, urged on by hunger or revenge. How appalling is this solitude of the wilderness! How cheerless this wide waste of waters, on which nothing moves!

A new object rises to our view ! It is that proud result of human genius, which finds its way where it leaves no trace of itself, yet connects the severed continents of the globe. It is full of human beings of a complexion unknown in this far distant clime. They come from a world skilled in the social arts. Are they adventurers, thirsting for gain, or seeking, in these unexplored regions, new gifts for the treasury of science ? Their boats are filled ; they touch the land. They are followed by tender females, and more tender offspring ; such beings as a wild desert never before received. They commence the making of habitations. They disembark their goods. Have they abandoned their returning ship ? Are they to encounter, in their frail tenements, the winter's tempest and the accumulating snows ? Do they know, that these dark forests, through which even the winds come not without dismal and terrifying sound, is the home of the savage, whose first prompting is to destroy, that he may rob ? Do they know that disease must be the inmate of their dwellings in their untried exposure ? If the savage, if disease, selects no victims, will famine stay its merciless hand ? Do they know how slowly the forest yields to human industry ? Do they realize how long, how lonesome, how perilous it will be, to their little group, before want can be supplied and security obtained ? Can they have come, *voluntarily*, to encounter all these unavoidable evils ? Have they given up their native land, their precious homes, their kind friends, their kindred, the comfort and the fellowship of civilized and polished life ? Is

this the evidence of affectionate solicitude of husbands, of anxious tenderness of parents, or the sad measure of distempered minds? Wherefore are they come? What did they suffer, what did they fear, what do they expect, or hope, that they have chosen exile HERE, and to become the watchful neighbour of the treacherous Indian!

They gather themselves together, and assume the posture of humble devotion. They pour forth the sentiments of praise, of hope, of unshaken confidence. They cast themselves, their wives, their children, into the arms of that *beneficent* PARENT, who is present in the wilderness no less than the crowded city. It is to HIM that they look for support, amidst the wants of nature, for shelter against the storm, for protection against the savage, for relief in disease.

WHAT the Pilgrims suffered, in their first years, how firmly, how confidently, they bore up against all perils and afflictions; how their hearts were encouraged and their hands were strengthened is the familiar knowledge of this interesting place. You, gentlemen, have called before you, on former occasions, the first talents of the land. You have again and again listened to all that learning and feeling could offer. You have been restrained from breaking forth in your applause, only by the fear of losing something of the unexhausted flow of eloquence. You have lately had presented to you, in a modern form, '*New England's Memorial*.'⁽²⁾ It comes from the hand of one, who is by birthright the historian of

the Pilgrims. Enriched by copious, critical, and learned illustrations, it has left nothing to be desired. The study of this work produces an emotion like that which seizes one, on being suddenly brought to the knowledge of some awful peril unconsciously escaped. How often, in the story of the Pilgrims, does their fortune seem to have hung upon some incident, which turning, ever so little, one way or the other, might be favorable or fatal. Passing by the perils of the voyage, had our Fathers landed elsewhere than at this spot, in and around which the native population had just been swept away by pestilence; if this event had not been connected, by Indian superstition, with the landing of the *white men*; if one of the natives had not attached himself, with immoveable fidelity, to the Pilgrims; if *Winslow* had not saved the life of *Massasoit*,⁽³⁾ whoever and whatever might have been here to-day, this assembly would not; nor would the descendants of the Pilgrims have been found elsewhere in this land. How short and sad might have been the record of the Pilgrims, written by other hands than their own! If there be any one who can discern, in all that befel them, nothing of the interposition of that Power, which they adored, he is a subject of pity. He is afloat on an ocean shoreless to him; he is shut in, bereft of the needle, under a starless, endless night.

The coming of our fathers, under such circumstances, and with a determination to remain and to encounter whatever awaited them, awakens an ardent curiosity as to the causes of their adventure. Now that the human mind has been so far freed

from the slavery which custom and prejudice had fastened upon it, we are reluctant to believe that such wrongs as our fathers fled from could have occurred. How could it be, that men of the same country, all of them professing that religion, which is Heaven's best gift, should have made their faith and practice, *in that religion*, causes of persecution and wo, which barbarians only seem fitted to inflict. Englishmen so afflicted Englishmen, for opinion's sake, that a home in the desert, over three thousand miles of ocean, was preferable to any home allowed them in their native land.

This point of history deserves a passing notice, since it is connected with that great work of improvement and happiness said to be now going on in the world. It is monitory also; for men are operated upon, everywhere, to the same end by like causes.

Man naturally refers good and evil to some unseen and superior power. Hope, fear, penitence, and reward; belief in worship to secure benefit and to avert calamity, spring up, everywhere, in the human heart;—wherever there has been religion, there have been privileged orders, aided by temporal power, to measure out its blessings, and to terrify with its punishments. Our own land is, from the beginning of the world, the only exception. Here, and here only, the sword and the altar have no alliance.

The christian system seems to have been given, in part, to separate duty to the Creator, from the

exercise of human power. It was so received and so conducted, in its early time; but soon, like all preceding systems, it appears in close alliance with secular authority. The bishops of Rome came at length to be despots, not alone in spiritual concerns, but over rulers, sovereigns, and kingdoms. This tremendous unresisted power, became so profligate, as well as tyrannical, as to shock even the common sense of the fifteenth century. Henry the Eighth, for purposes badly assorted with his pious professions, abandoned the pope, and assumed to be the spiritual, as well as the temporal head of his kingdom. To this Union of church and state are to be referred the grievous sufferings of our ancestors and their expatriation; and to such distressing causes we trace all that we value and call our own. From the time that Henry became the spiritual head of the church, down to the period of the emigration, no part of human history is more afflictive than that of England. This period comprises the reigns of Henry, of his three children, and of James. Some portion of it is called the golden days of England, but in a moral, and philanthropic view, one can turn to no time, among civilized and christian beings, which is more revolting. It was a period eminent for corrupt, and submissive parliaments; servile courts; venal judiciaries; and for despotic royalty. Life was harassed by cruel bigotry, by alternations of faith, by tyranny in matters not of human comprehension, and in forms and ceremonies unknown to the simple founders of Christianity. One cannot compare the offences of these days, with the pun-

ishments which followed them, without blushing for human nature.

The class of Christians to whom we owe our origin, were alike distinguished from the adherents to papal authority, and from those who adhered to the English church. They abhorred the doctrines and ritual of Rome; but they abhorred no less, the forms and ceremonies imitated therefrom, but severely exacted, by the established religion. They persevered through all sufferings, and perils, in worshipping according to the scriptures, and in forms much *purified* from human errors, and follies. They hence acquired, and brought hither, and bequeathed to their offspring, the name of PURITANS, than which none more honorable can be desired.

The Puritans of the new world, having seen, and felt, the effects of civil and ecclesiastical power, when they act in aid of each other, may be allowed the praise of intending, not only a form of worship consistent with Christianity, but a form of social and civil government, which is consistent with, if it does not naturally flow from, that pure source. The social contract signed on board the Mayflower on the 11th of November, 1620, may claim to be the germ from which our representative republics have arisen.

What we owe to the Pilgrims can be presented in its true, and just light, only by comparing the design of emigration, the mode of accomplishing it, and the moment when this intrepid band were first gathered on this hallowed spot, with what is this day seen, known, secured, and enjoyed by millions

of persons, whose civil, social, and religious rank is expressed in one word—*They are FREE!* But this comparison is the work of the patient historian, and far beyond the limits of an occasional discourse.

LEAVING the times which are gone by, let us take a rapid view of the present, and attempt to connect it, with the probable, in the future.

It has been very common to speak of American happiness, on public occasions, with high sounding praise. If the usual course were adopted, on this occasion, the only task would be to select, and adorn, the bright and glorious events of past days, to cast a strong light on the social and political happiness of the present day, and to announce, with prophetic confidence, the unceasing glories of civil liberty, through successive ages. No New England audience would be displeased to hear a strain of eulogy to this effect, if they could believe all of it to be true; (happy would it be if all of it were as true as that which refers to the Pilgrims;)—

You are descended from men, who have given an example to the world, in moral courage, intellectual power, perseverance in honorable designs, in genuine piety, in eventual success, which has no parallel, and which can never be surpassed. Emancipation from tyranny permitted you to give to human nature the best form, civil, political, and religious, in which it can appear. The opportunity has not been lost. You have united yourselves with other communities, and have thus established a nation which justly claims an eminent superiority over all others. Your

institutions are the wisest that have been devised. You have invented an infallible mode of bringing the first talents, and the highest virtues into the public service. Every citizen is well governed, yet every citizen is free. The expression of public favor, by election, constitutes the only distinction known among you. The federal government is an unexampled display of wisdom. Its form is adapted to any number of members ; its powers may be exercised to the same beneficent ends, in thirteen, or in ten times thirteen States. You will fill the whole space from the St Lawrence, to the Gulf of Mexico ; from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Already the variety of climate, and of product, give continual employment, and ample wealth in the common course of interchange. You would be prosperous, and great, even if shut out from the rest of the world. You are strangers to the degrading servitudes, pretended rights, and incorrigible prejudices which have fastened on other nations. You know, and value your rights, too well, not to preserve, and transmit them, through a long line of exulting followers. The inhabitants of South America, charmed by your enviable example, will form themselves into similar communities ; and by a firm alliance, founded on mutual interests, the 'two Americas,' will hold a proud preeminence over the ancient world, alike regardless of its moral influence, and of its physical power.

What should we think of a parent, who should address his son, on entering the world,—You are wiser, more virtuous, more able than all others.

Your constitution is too strong to permit injury, or decay. You need no counsellor, but your own suggestions. Your sudden emotions will never surprise your prudence. Your talents will ensure success. You will find all others ready to yield precedence to you ; if not, you can command it. You need no lessons from the experience, nor from the failures, of others. Be then your own director ; master of health, success, fortune, and fame.

We owe too much to the memory of the Pilgrims, too much to ourselves, too much to posterity, to permit ourselves to be thus deceived, or misled. The American people, are making an experiment in self-government. What reflecting mind can doubt that it is *an experiment*. Who among us feels assured, that this country will continue as free, and as happy, as the Pilgrims intended it should be. Is our case an exception from that of all similar governments ? are we exempt from the frailties of human nature ? if not, are we so defended against them, that they cannot prostrate, or degrade us ? In all untried cases, it is usual to look at home, and abroad for precedents, and analogies.

In what do we resemble the Grecian Republics ? The whole duration of the Grecians from their first emerging from barbarism, to the time when they sunk into slaves, under the Roman despotism, was little more than thrice that length of time, which has elapsed since our Fathers began their perilous adventure. Republican Greece sent forth its colonies from Judea to the Atlantic ; from the coast of Africa to the Northern shores of the Euxine. It

contended successfully against the most powerful monarch of that era; yet this same Greece contained, only half the number of square miles, which are comprised in the State of New York; it exceeded the four smallest of the New England States only in three hundred miles.* Its length was two hundred and twenty miles, its breadth one hundred and forty. It is the most mountainous country of Europe, Switzerland only excepted. It has one range of mountains as high as any in the old United States, and two of still greater elevation. Separated valleys, rapid torrents, and tracts of uncultivable lands, necessarily belong to such a country. This small space contained fifteen Independent States, or rather cities. The number of slaves was far greater than that of all the citizens. In Athens the proportion was thirty thousand citizens, and four hundred thousand slaves. In such republics, where the whole population could be assembled in a single day, where laws were made, judged of, and executed by popular assemblies, we find very little by which to measure what we are, or may become. Our resemblance to the Greeks becomes still less, when we consider them as a people who made their religion out of monstrous mythological fables, and absurd mysteries; and who governed their public, and private affairs, by the equivocal answers of oracles, and by contemptible superstitions.

Our citizens and their institutions, resemble those of Rome, as little as those of Greece. If in Greece

* Macedonia is not considered a part of Greece. It is about the same, in extent, as Greece.

we see many republics within narrow limits ; among the Romans we see one city, subduing and governing nearly all that was known of the habitable globe, while the same city was alternating between popular tumult, and odious tyranny ; the extremes of frugality and profligacy ; and was, at last, abandoned to a luxury of which there had been no example, and of which there could be no imitation ; as there never have been any republicans, or other citizens, rich like those of Rome. Not but that Greece, and Rome, had their glorious days. Both of them have sent down an imperishable fame, for taste, science, eloquence, arts, and arms ; not that each of them did not exhibit examples of illustrious virtue, and proud patriotism. But we discern in neither of them, in their rise, prosperity, decline, or fall, anything to tell us what we are, or may be.

The conquerors of the world submitted, in their turn, to those innumerable hosts which came like ocean waves before the storm. A night of barbarism closed over the civilized world. All that science, arts, and refinement had brought forth perished in its long duration, except the solitary column, and the massive temple, which even barbarian strength could not utterly destroy. When this darkness fled before commerce, printing, and reformed religion, Europe presented no aspect to console the friends of human rights. Kingly power, sustained on the one hand by the sword, on the other by superstition ; some men raised above all others by wealth, and hereditary right ; a subdued and enslaved mass of human beings ; and a blind

deyotion to a profligate prelacy, raising its awful majesty above all other power, is the short outline of Europe in that day. To what extent has it changed since? In many respects it has changed, at least so far as individual merit could affect its condition. But the great features of political Europe, are still the same. It resembles a giant who wields his power in shackles. His efforts serve only to enervate and to prostrate him. He sinks subdued, and helpless, by his own fruitless struggles, to retrieve his liberty. We are grateful debtors to the Pilgrim Fathers that there is one people on the earth who can compare themselves without arrogance, with any of Europe, in ancient or modern times.

For hereditary right to rule, we have periodical elections;—for the absurd privileges of birth, all the equality, which nature permits;—for unalienable wealth, laws which dissipate, in a few devolutions, any riches that can be acquired;—for mercenary troops, forces composed of native citizens, who own what they protect;—for arbitrary exactions, payments which are almost voluntary;—for titled and imperious clergy, teachers who depend on their own merits for respect and obedience. But above all we have an entire separation and independence of legislative, judicial, and executive power.

Will a people who have such rights and privileges throw them away, permit them to drop from their enervated hold, or be wrested from their manly grasp?

These are questions, which it becomes us to ask, on a day devoted, not merely to praise and thanks-

giving, to veneration and filial respect ;—but to self-examination and national accountability.

Our fathers did not gain, with so much peril, and so generously give, an inheritance, to be sported with, wasted, or diverted from its legitimate descent. They gave it to be used, preserved, and transmitted. It is, to a whole people, what health, fortune and reputation are, to an individual ; given on condition, and easily forfeited, and lost, by neglect, and abuse ; the condition is, resistance of beginnings ; watchfulness of encroachments, foresight as to causes of decay. Is it not enough that we are free ; enviably free ? will not our institutions, and our intelligence, and our virtue keep us, and our descendants, free ? Certainly, if we, and our descendants, continue to know what freedom is, and how it may be preserved. Perversion, and decay, are ever watching, with the fidelity of the principle of gravitation, to seize on the moment, to act. How long shall we be able to stand erect, and make the component parts their own mutual protection ; how long will the moral, and political movements, which must go on, in this singular country produce safe and beneficial results ?

It would not become those who engage in the solemnities of these commemorations, to praise, or to blame, the political men, or things, which happen to be existent, at the moment ; these constitute a part, and but a very small part, of that chain of agency, which rises far behind them, and which runs through their time, and still, onward ; and which must be sounded, and tried, to test the national prosperity, or decline.

It is not of the men, and things, of the day, that we render an account, at the Tribunal of the Fathers ; but of a whole people, charged with the high prerogative of directing their own destiny.

It is assumed by the friends of civil liberty, that nothing can be easier than to carry on such a simple process of governing as that of our own country.

It would be easy, if the whole number, who have the right to an opinion, were always agreed. This is not so ; and by the laws of nature cannot be so. Men must act in combinations, and in parties. And what is very striking, there is a rule for parties, which the individuals who compose it, disavow. The moral principle of the man, is often lost in the devotion to a party, or a sect ; and sometimes men take praise to themselves for the measures of a party, when, if separated from the irresponsible whole, they might be ashamed to have engaged in them. A numerous collection acting to one end, and by one spirit, may be compared to an overwhelming torrent. If each man were separated, and put on his own responsibility, he would be as harmless as the drops which compose the torrent would be, if separated and left to the action of the air. This, one would think, is the very country of all others for combinations ; for, instead of discouraging, almost all its institutions afford facilities for combining. The peculiar danger in republics is, the popular combination to aid by force, a reigning faction ; this is the more difficult to be met, and managed, because, it moves under that very authority, which should control and repress it.

But leave out all unusual excitement. Take only the common daily, inevitable course of affairs. We have to encounter honest difference of opinion on vital interests ; we have to meet long cherished prejudices. We differ in those things which are thought to be best understood. We say, familiarly, that every man has a right to liberty. But what is liberty ? what is right ? An abstract notion is easily arrived at. It is the application that is embarrassing. Practical right and liberty, are just what each citizen wants for himself, for his friends, for his party. Right and liberty are such constructions of established principles, as will bring about the greatest good ; *to whom ?* to the citizen who makes the construction. It is said there is no danger. *Intelligence*, and *virtue*, will protect the republic ; that we have only to carry on the administration of constitutional government, by the exercise of the electoral franchise. It is assumed that every citizen knows in what manner the power should be used ; and who are the proper agents to use it. If by *intelligence*, is meant a knowledge of the nature of our social compacts, the relation of every citizen to the State ; of the States to the confederacy ; the powers given and withheld ; the proper exercise of these powers, both at home, and abroad ; and what is expedient, and practicable, as well in the extraordinary, as in the common course of events, what proportion of us have *intelligence* ? Deduct from the whole number of citizens, those who are not in the way to be informed ; those who might be, but are not ; those who strive to be, but mistake

their object ; and those who are informed, but only for their selfish purposes, and those who are skilled in the arts of managing adherents, and what is the number left who are devoted to civil and religious liberty ; and what is the weight of their influence ?

As to *virtue*, applied to political and social relations, does it mean that every citizen shall be governed by an enlightened benevolence towards all others ; that he shall know, and respect, the relation of persons, and things, in his social connexion ; and that he shall know, and adhere to that, in which his own true happiness consists ;—if so, how many of us are *virtuous* ?

But is not the frequency of election, a security which cannot fail ? Integrity, and talents, may pass through the avenues of election to places of trust ; but these avenues are not closed upon talents, unaccompanied by integrity. It is a common remark, that there are two sorts of patriots, who flourish in republics ; one, which makes all personal views conform to the end, and the means of public duty ; and one, which makes all public service conform to the end and the means of self-exaltation. But the electors wisely discriminate between these. Is it so ? Suppose every elector calmly devoted to making the wisest selection ; suppose no feverish divisions to exist, what proportion of the whole number of electors have the means of deciding who among them are most trustworthy ? Within the smallest electoral district, great diversity of opinion honestly occurs as to qualifications for office. The difficulty increases with the increase of

numbers, and the extension of territory. It soon comes to the fact, that some of the electors have no personal knowledge of candidates; and must choose, *on the faith of a very few, who assume to be well informed.* In one district in this State, comprised in less than four square miles, men are often chosen to important trusts, who are personally unknown to a majority of their electors. How must it be, then, in some of our cities, when they contain, as they will, hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. Then throw into an election, party animosity, credulous jealousy, personal hatred, and the means used to secure triumph, or to gratify some prevalent enthusiasm, and what is the chance of selecting those who are best qualified for honest and faithful service?

At first view it is surprising that office should have so much attraction. *Young ambition* cannot know the contrast between the feelings with which office is taken, and those with which it is regarded, when gone; nor can it be warned by seeing, how many, who have given their best days to office, are stricken by poverty in the decline of life, chagrined by neglect, or visited by reproach. That master propensity of the human heart, *the desire of excell-ing*, will always furnish the republic with abundance of candidates. No human heart is, or ought to be, free from this propensity; combined with honorable motives, it brings clear heads, and pure minds, into the public trust. It often brings zealous, and honest, but incompetent minds; and is sure to bring insincere and mischievous ones, into the same relation. Whether the indiscreet friends, or the

secret enemies, of ancient republics did most to overthrow them, may be doubtful; but it is certain that the latter always stood ready to give the mortal blow.

We have also to meet, that propensity of mankind, peculiar to no age, or country, to create **idols**, and to clothe them with fascinating attributes, and to vest in them extravagant power. In our time, we have seen a man raised from the common level, to the highest eminence, without one quality that deserved esteem. Adored through all his faults, follies, and crimes, though he felt no kindness, no sympathy for his worshippers. Adored through all his miscarriages, and humiliations, though he deserved them all. Adored in his far distant, sea-girt sepulchre, which would be worn by the knees of visitors, were it not inaccessible. To what quality of our nature are we to refer this propensity? Is it self-love? Is it the ready association of ourselves with the grandeur, which is our own work? Is it the sentiment of triumph over adversaries? The establishment of power, which makes its supporters strong, and of a glory, which descends and envelopes the lowest who can shout applause?

We reproach the hero for his false elevation. We should reproach those who gave it.

The plots which have originated with individuals to subjugate communities, have succeeded less frequently by the force of terror, than by the cooperation of the victims of success. It is not peculiar to those, who have been fortunate in arms, to be made idols. It would be easy to prove this by historical

facts ; and we should not have to cross the Atlantic to find all of them. The danger seems to be in the enthusiastic devotion to the man, who is thus raised above all responsibility, and who cannot in his own opinion, nor in that of his supporters, be charged with intentional or accidental error.

The distinguishing excellence of our political system is, the frequent recurrence of election in every department, in which that power can be usefully exercised. But this power, like other good, when perverted into an evil, becomes destructive, in proportion to its intended utility. It is that power which is most liable to abuse : the abuse can never be admitted, nor proved, where alone it can be remedied ; because it is the majority on whom the abuse is chargeable. The majority is the sovereign, and the sovereign can do no wrong. The most natural and easy departure from the beautiful theory of our institutions is to consider *public trust* a *property*, vested in successful candidates, and their prominent supporters, *to their own use*. This was the vice of the ancient governments. It was the struggle for this *property*, that converted the Grecian cities, and Rome, into scenes of frightful personal wars. In the last three fourths of our present national connexion, we have descended, rapidly, in the common path of all self-governed communities. At first *patronage* seemed to smile rather in regard of some alleged difference of *principle* between the two sorts of republicans into which the nation was divided. It soon transferred its favours to *partizans*, as well as to principle. And then, none but an *avowed partizan* was capable

and honest enough, to serve his country. At this day how much better is the struggle than those which are carried on by physical force. In the one case, victory disposes of place, of property and of persons. The result of an election, in like manner, disposes of all that is within the reach of victory.

How far, then, have we already declined from that elevated standard which governed us, when WASHINGTON was among the public agents? Did any citizen believe, in his time, that disgusting adulation on the one side, and odious crimination of the other, would be the surest means to recommend himself to an office?

It is grateful to contemplate the character of this EMINENT PATRIOT, and painful to know how soon, and how thoroughly, some of his maxims of conduct were disregarded. He seems to stand alone in the scale of human worth; and to be the only man, who has maintained, living and dead, his hold on the gratitude, respect, and affection of the world. He commanded no personal enthusiasm; he neither made the community, nor the community him. Utility, talent, integrity, fidelity, justice, self-respect, in one word WISDOM, shed a simple, venerable, glory around him, which was his, and has been no other man's. This glory will shine forth to illumine our path as long as the American people are worthy of having had such a countryman, and no longer.

If there be a doubt, whether intelligence, and virtue, will be so diffused, and respected, as to preserve civil liberty, still we are not to despair of the republic. Surely there must be great reliance on

these ; but by their own force they will never make all men think alike, nor act to the same end. We find, for them a powerful auxiliary in a principle, which pervades all being, that is submitted to human notice. It is that which keeps the planets in their orbits, and which governs the physical structure, and the moral agency of men. It has never had so fair an opportunity to disclose its powers, and produce its benefits, as among the American people. All our relations, moral, social, and political, are held in their proper spheres, by the power which attracts, and the power which repels. Among us, men, and things, check and balance each other. The interests of the village are weighed against each other. The rule is the same in larger communities. The local, and opposing interests, throughout the nation, will, if anything will, keep the whole in harmony. The eminent men who seek distinction, or to whom it is tendered, of whatever kind, and from whatever motives, exercise a salutary power over each other ; and each one is duly careful that neither of his opposing aspirants, shall gain too commanding an ascendancy.

Difference of opinion, and interests, civil and religious, which can never be reconciled, nor mingled, so far from being just causes of regret, are the very bond of general union, and accordance. The more divisions are multiplied the greater is the security. It is only when a nation is divided into two nearly equal parties, and the prevailing one undertakes to silence, and disgrace its adversary, that the common safety is in hazard. When the dominant faction,

begins to use the fruits of its victory, reaction again comes to our relief, for its own weight dismembers it; and the minor factions which arise out of a broken one, carry on the great principle in which our security reposes. We have heard of '*unprincipled and seditious oppugnation to government.*' Opposition may be unreasonable; and may proceed from the worst of motives. But if there were not vigilant and powerful minorities, to hold up the charter of rights, and to warn the men in office, that they are not, and that the people are, *sovereign*, the days of the republic would soon be numbered.

That we are still in the process of an experiment, may be shown, by the probable operation of the national authority. The powers delegated by the sovereign states, are to be construed, and applied, to a community hourly filling up with native, and imported population. It is obvious that those who desire stability and order, will not increase so rapidly as those who hope for some gain, from any change.

They are to be applied, also, to a country of such extent, that the centre between the northeastern and southwestern extremities, is near to the southern line of the State of Ohio; and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the centre is westward of any existing settlement. When the Texas is purchased, and added, the extremities will be as distant from each other, nearly, as the new and the old worlds, are.

They are to be applied also, to the concerns of internal and external policy; to the disposal of nine hundred millions of acres of unsettled territory; a subject likely to be fruitful in troubles; to that phenomenon in financial measures, the distribution of

millions of money among a people, *from a part of whom* they were gathered by the process of taxation ; to the disposal of the remnants of Native Nations ; a subject to whom some eminent men⁽⁴⁾ attach, an awful national responsibility. To the command over the militia, perplexingly but unavoidably apportioned between the States, and the confederacy : To old and to new regions, comprising every species of industry, and labor, known in the world ; and especially to the preservation of a judiciary constitutionally independent ; which is, and should be, supreme over all, and which has, and should have, the power of pronouncing on the validity of laws made under the sovereignty of the States when they come in conflict with those of the nation.

The administration of such a government is truly difficult, even when the highest minds, governed by the purest motives, are called to it. What, then, may it become, when the object is to carry men and measures ; or to raise a rampart around a usurped authority.

The problem which the authors of the federal constitution raised, ‘ will there be despotism in the head, or anarchy among the members ? ’ remains to be solved. The solution will come, from the efforts of national rulers, to maintain what they hold to be, the true construction of their powers, or in the efforts of the States to maintain their sovereignty, against what they may hold to be, encroachment, or usurpation. We have had some sober warnings in both respects. While we regret to see the warm excitement, which easily arises in some of the States,

we should regret still more to see, that it is forbidden to the States to inquire, whether the solemn treaty among sovereigns, has, or has not been violated. It is a discouraging circumstance, that the manly and liberal views which should arise from a compact, founded on compromise, and designed for general benefit, may degenerate into pitiful struggles, of contending factions ; and into sordid desires of sectional politicians. For honest difference on constitutional construction, we have a remedy (before alluded to) of American origin. A tribunal independent of popular election ; composed of men eminent for wisdom, learning and purity of character, and by whom inflexible justice is valued above all other considerations. If this tribunal shall ever become intimidated, or corrupt, or be subjected to popular feeling, we shall have begun a revolution which cannot retrace its steps.⁽⁵⁾

It seems to be a peculiarity of our condition, that those benefits which we hold in the highest estimation, are subject to discouraging changes, and sometimes to dangerous abuses. We can have no right more precious than that of religious opinion, and worship. It is eminently that right which the Pilgrims so often risked their lives to secure. If there be any object which shows the human character in an amiable, and respectable light, it is that of a numerous assembly, devoutly engaged in service, under the ministry of a justly honored, and beloved pastor. But this very blessing of religious freedom is dividing us into small communities, which are not only unable to maintain learned, and able teach-

ers, but to maintain any. No remedy is discerned for this state of things, unless it be in the increase of numbers, and the diffusion of knowledge. It is probable, that *Seceding Societies* will continue to be known among us, and that they will sometimes be the shadow, which shows the presence of a splendid light. This freedom is the true source of sincere piety, and rational devotion; but it permits, also, a fervor, and enthusiasm, not well adapted to the vocations of human life; nor to the mild, gentle, and consoling spirit of Christianity. Is there no reason to fear, that inconvenient exactions, and severe observances, will carry reaction to a dangerous extreme? Is it to such causes, that we are to refer doubt, disgust, infidelity, and deistical assemblies? or to what cause shall we attribute those meetings which teach, there is no God, but *reason*; there is no future for man!

We have another striking example in THE PRESS. Glorious invention! a voice that may speak with many tongues, and over the whole earth, at once, of human hope, of duty, of right, of immortal life; which binds all numbered ages to the present; and the quarters of the earth together; the preserver of the achievements of human genius; the diffuser of the common welfare among the great family of mankind; the encourager of noble motives, and honorable deeds; the terrible censor of turpitude, and crime; the medium of communion between enlightened minds; the conservator of rational liberty; how free, is it in this happy land! how alarmingly free! How delusive, fraudulent, and corrupting! What a terrible engine is it, in the hand of moral, and political profligacy! At the present moment,

the press is in motion, to abolish the fundamental principles of moral action ; and to annihilate the bond of political connexion.

What is the remedy for this audacious wrong? What has intelligence, virtue, and reaction been able to do, in staying its influence? To what are we to attribute this deplorable perversion of the best invention of the human mind? Would civil liberty endure longest without the press, or with such use of it as we are accustomed to see? Or rather will civil liberty expire soonest under the weight of the press, or by its abolition? Are we to reproach the conductors of the press; or the community, which demands, receives, pays for and devours, the gross and corrupting aliment which the conductors of the press distribute?

On the continent of Europe, the press is under the control of those who have an absolute dominion over persons, and over the expression of their thoughts. As this dominion is claimed, and exercised, as a *right*, and is limited by the ability to continue to hold it, it cannot tolerate the press. In England the press is as free, and as much misused as in our own country; but in England the weight of the government, the influence of wealth, talents, and privileged orders, create a connected and combined strength, which is assailed in vain. Here, the press encounters no obstacle in its way to the very heart of sovereign power, which it can form and put in motion, to accomplish the intended purpose. If the purpose be to bring a majority to be of one opinion, and the means are, not the statement of

truth, but of falsehoods, how are they who read to detect the fraud? To insist that every one who reads, can discriminate between what is true, and what is false, is to deny that falsehood is ever published. The remedy, it is said, is to follow the mischievous publication with a corrective one. The latter rarely goes where the remedy is wanted; if it always did, the attempt to correct, puts the party on the defensive; and the call then is upon an adversary, to admit that he is wrong.

The press is, *here*, what eloquence was in *Athens*. A celebrated Greek, speaking of the ambitious men of Athens, said, 'Their triumph is that of eloquence, which seems to have arrived at perfection, for no other purpose, but to introduce despotism into the bosom of liberty itself.'

If there be any remedy for the abuses of the press, the press itself must furnish it. But by whom shall it be put in motion to this useful end? How many of those who are most competent to this service, are absorbed in their own vocations; or wearied of thankless labor; or disgusted with the process of our experiment; or hopeless that any effort can arrest our downward tendency in the common path of republics?

We cannot but commend that philanthropy, which seeks to emancipate millions from slavery. To what effort can we more cordially wish success? Yet what a dangerous, difficult, and impracticable enterprise is this? If the purpose in view could be accomplished in a single day, what is to be done with two millions of persons, who are without

knowledge, without property, without skill ; and who cannot, from complexion, as the slaves of other ages, and countries could, mingle with and disappear, in the mass of population? The only cure for slavery is, *interest* ; at best a partial one. Interest has removed the line of slavery, from Maine to Pennsylvania. It will remove it, onward, until it comes to a wide expanse, where it will remain until the inscrutable designs of Providence shall have been accomplished. It is a consideration of serious import, that the territory within the United States, in which slaves are, and may be lawfully held, compared with that in which they cannot, or will not be, is as 700 to 162—that is, the slave country is almost four times greater, than that, where slaves are not held.

The introduction of slavery, is a remarkable instance of shortsightedness as to consequences ; more remarkable still, in proving, how many uncompensated evils may arise from an intended act of benevolence. To save the subdued natives of tropical climes from wasting servitude in the mines, an eminent Spanish prelate suggested the substitution of the people of Africa. At this time, and from this cause, African slavery began ; and at this time, the mild spirit of Christianity had nearly extirpated the right of holding men as property. From the Spanish colonies, slavery gradually crept into the British. Thus, a great moral and political evil, has become incorporated with the vital principles of a nation, who claim to be, and who are, the most rationally free, and independent of any that has

appeared. In one respect the Grecian, Roman, and American Republics have some affinity. The two former enumerated men, as property; and so does the latter. But there is one difference; the Greeks and Romans were heathens; the Americans, Christians. Yet it is an injustice to reproach the planter of the old States, with what is his misfortune. He came into life as his ancestors did, finding slavery connected with all his social relations; with all that he owns as property; and with his daily bread. He feels that it is an evil; and he honestly mourns over it as one, for which there is no remedy.

To hold colored men in slavery, is a right by the national contract; like other property its management belongs to interior regulation, and police. We must be better informed than we are, before we can pronounce, that slaves are not as well provided for, and governed, as the nature of the relation permits. We may suppose, also, that humanity and interest would join in prescribing salutary rules. Whatever may be felt on this subject, out of the slave territories, we do but aggravate the evil, by interfering. Among the efforts at emancipation, originating among the planters, is that known by the name of the *Colonization Society*. Truly respectable and worthy as its members are, it is difficult to discern, how their measures, with whatever success they may be attended, are to effect a general *manumission*. They dip from an ocean which fills up faster than they can diminish it. But in another view, their labors eminently deserve encouragement. The

establishment of an African Colony skilled in arts, and well instructed, moral, and christianised, must have an influence on the millions of that unfortunate country. It may be the beginning of that course of events, which is destined to carry back from the new, to the old world, and to that part of it in which human improvement first began, the lights which modern days have given to human happiness. It may be the means, and the only means, of terminating a traffic, which is one horrible crime, that comprises nearly all that is known under the name of crime.

There is one institution, connected with civil liberty, and independence, which circumstances forced our Fathers faithfully to uphold. It is one, which their descendants, though far differently circumstanced, have a like interest to maintain. Happy were it indeed, if that day had come, or were likely to come, in which the arms of the warrior, might be converted into implements of husbandry. It would not be more wonderful than many events of the present era, if, through the influence of *peace societies*, and from other causes, public opinion should enact, that wars shall cease. But so far as can now be discerned, the power to attack and to defend, is one, which nations are forced to create, and to support, by *some means*. This has been so understood by the American people, in their supreme law, deliberately adopted. This being so, *to whom shall we confide the common safety, but to our own citizens?* Is there, as some imagine, a well grounded fear, that a commander returning victorious from

some conquered province, or republic, will attempt to conquer his own country? Or that the day may come, as some officers at the close of the revolutionary war, ventured to think it *then* had, when those who had fought for a country, had acquired the right to rule it. What discouragement can present itself so formidable, *as a whole population armed, able, and ready, to defend themselves?* It cannot be denied that *the militia* has fallen into some disrepute; nor that the opinion is gaining ground, that it is a burthensome and useless requisition. Experience, and the inferences which it draws, in regard to the future, create a very different sentiment. According to existing laws, militia duty certainly is unequal and unjust. *The question is between abolition and amendment.* The service could be made useful, honorable, and popular. It should be limited to a short duration in the beginning of manhood. It should include all, *without exemption* within the prescribed limits of age; it should require that all who had served, should continue to be armed, and should contribute the light amount necessary to defray the actual disbursements of those, who are passing through the term of service. There are difficulties, but they may be surmounted. They who are so fortunate as to devise, and carry into full effect a system which will arm, and make skilful in the use of arms, *the men of New England*, will have given to the cause of civil liberty one of its most permanent securities.

LET us turn from our apprehensions, and our fears, arising out of this expanding, changing empire, to the prospects, and hopes, of *the children of the PILGRIMS*. It will be no cause of regret, that the numerical power of New England, compared with that of the Union, is diminishing, if it should have the effect to animate our solicitude to preserve the blessings, which our ancestors left to us. We have an unmixed and increasing population, although we have so largely contributed to the numbers beyond our limits. We find among us a desire to become wiser and better; and to acquire, use, and secure, the rational comforts of life. We are becoming less and less dependant on the industry of other nations; and continually augmenting the means of a profitable interchange with them. We are disposed to inquire, to compare opinions, and to make reasonable inferences. We are disposed to read, and to interchange our thoughts. The money which we expend, in these respects, we find to be profitably spent. We claim to have led the way in the establishment of FREE SCHOOLS; and the Forefathers may claim to have given the example. The first free school that ever existed in the world, was in the place in which we are assembled. We unite in furnishing the means of instruction. Social libraries, meetings for the communication of thoughts, on useful subjects, are becoming a want, which must be satisfied. It is a defect in our social system, that meetings, attended with light expense, are not more common. Those which include *one*

sex only, for such purposes, valuable as they may be, are not the best. He will confer a benefit on the community, who invents the means of bringing fathers, mothers, and children, into social meetings for innocent, attractive, and intellectual purposes. Some evils which might be pointed out, would be remedied; and liberal, and rational occupations would take their place. Employment is the demand of the human mind. To expand its views, to enable it to compare with wisdom and justice; to infer truly; to desire with moderation; and to receive with gratitude, are the certain consequences of the employment to which we can, if we will, devote ourselves.

A grateful tribute is due to societies formed for *the suppression of intemperance*. This effort, so hopeless, so derided in its infancy, is sufficient, alone, to shed a bright lustre on our days. It is not by the millions which are saved; it is not by the correction, nor the prevention of evil habits, that we are to measure the surprising good which has been accomplished;—we must go further, and consider its effect on domestic life, and on the innocent, and deserving. We must contrast the respected, the affectionate parent, at his own hearth, in the bosom of his tranquil family, with that nightly recurring scene, in which the patient, heart-broken wife, receives that degraded being, who, *without dying*, ceases to be a husband, a father, and a man.

Among the subjects of reasonable gratulation, and honorable pride, is that department of our government, in which the public rights are vindicated, and

private wrongs redressed. It is through this medium only, that the citizen feels the sovereignty of political power. It is here, with the cognizance, and assent of an auxiliary tribunal, drawn from the intelligent community, that is found, a dispassionate, sober, discreet inquiry, according to established rules, into the truth, or falsehood of accusation. Here is the shield of the innocent:—here is the tranquil avenger of error, and of crime. The will, or the wishes of the magistrate are unknown here; it is the law only that wills, and acts. In no land is justice more purely and faithfully administered than in our own. Its tribunals are the most precious gift of civil freedom; for they are alike open to all; within them, all have the same rights; and meet with the like respect; and within them, the sound of popular emotion cannot be heard.

Change, and revolution, must go on, in this new country with extraordinary vigor; and there must be for us, as well as for all other nations, a beginning, a duration, and an end. Conquest, and the inherent principles of dissolution, are the means, by which nations fall. The former is improbable; not so, the latter, as to us. But through what changes, and circumstances, and in what lapse of time, is our destiny to be accomplished? What gifted mind could have foretold the events of the last two hundred years; and who shall attempt to raise the veil which conceals two hundred years to come? Over-shadowed as the future seems to be, it is relieved by many cheering beams;—and among them, that re-

alities are often less afflictive than our fears ;—and that few evils are such as to shut out all relief. It is probable that the causes of difference will be so multiplied as to prevent any dangerous ascendancy. Whatever dissatisfaction may arise in different parts of the Union, all its members must be too well convinced of the utility of adhering to the confederacy, to intend a rupture. If a dissolution comes, it cannot come unforeseen, nor unprepared for. Meanwhile it may be hoped, that just and liberal sentiments will advance ;—that new lights will be thrown upon the true nature of liberty, and on the surest means of preserving it.⁽⁶⁾ We may hope too, that pure and exalted minds, seeing, that if civil and religious freedom perish here, they do perish *once*, and *forever*, will, by frank and sober appeals to the good sense of their countrymen, fence in our precious inheritance, as well from the plots of its enemies, as from the destructive zeal of its friends.

In whatsoever may await us we have the example of the Pilgrims, than which none better can be found.

Happy will it be for their descendants, if like them they can know, and justly value, the good that is vouchsafed ; if like them they can bear, with manly perseverance, whatsoever of adversity is ordered ; if like them, they can repose in that POWER, which holds the beginning, and the end of all duration, in which nations are to arise, and prosper ; to change and disappear.

GENTLEMEN,—

I AM aware of the estimation in which the virtue of brevity is held, by listening assemblies. Already you have been too long detained from the friendly communion, which affords the chief pleasure of this soberly delightful day. Yet, I should regret to depart with you from this temple, without acknowledging the debt of gratitude which I owe to you. I was not uninstructed in the history of the Pilgrims, nor in the causes, and consequences of their coming. But you have led me to contemplate them in new, and unexpected lights. You have taught me that these were the men, who first broke away from the iron bondage, which the dark ages had fastened upon the moral, social, and christian world; Who can doubt, that men, who could conceive and execute this great design, would be the most ardent supporters of the enlightened and liberal views, which worthily distinguish the present age, and which are the certain consequences of their eminent success.

It is difficult to say whether your periodical celebrations are most honorable to the Fathers, to yourselves, or to your country.⁽⁷⁾ They are the only monument which should rise to the memory of the Pilgrims. Let the granite obelisk tower over blood-drenched hills; sublime in its elevation, sublime in its simple grandeur; fit emblem of that sublimity of

character which it rises to commemorate. Let the noble column sustain, in the very skies, the marble image of the SAVIOUR of his COUNTRY ; but let your anniversaries be the hallowed conservators of these works of gratitude.⁽⁸⁾

And when these days of national accounting shall be no more ;—when these enduring monuments shall tell to the exploring visiter, of what has been, and what is not ;—of a great and proud people ; of their decline from their ancestry ; of their degradation by their own, or foreign hands ; of their disgraceful extinction ; let there be, *then*, no pathway to the Rock of the PILGRIMS, nor anything to tell where their ASHES sleep.⁽⁹⁾

Again, I am indebted that I am permitted to see you assembled on such an occasion. I had met you in the usual intercourse of life ;—but I had never seen you in the light in which you now appear, the living representatives of those whom the Mayflower bore to the wintry desert. Gathered as we are to render homage to the ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD, the ground on which we move, and on which they moved, seems to be sacred, and not that of our accustomed existence. We are unconsciously drawn into the presence of the Pilgrims ;—they seem to have descended among us, to receive our tributes, with encouraging, and approving smiles. We are transferred to the days in which they, *and they only*, were here. We touch the cherished relics, which were their own. We enter their humble dwellings ; we are present

with them in their sincere devotions. We are admitted to their councils. We hear them speak, with cheerful resignation, of privations, afflictions, and sorrows. We hear their manly resolutions to meet, and to conquer, the thousand perils, which are among them, and around them. We hear them encourage each other in the faith, that their CREATOR will uphold them in their efforts to secure the blessings of rational liberty. And have not their prayers been heard? Have not their lofty aspirations been triumphantly realized? Where, now, is that awful desert; its savage, inflexible inhabitant; and his co-tenants of that dark abode? Who, and what have arisen where they were, in that short term which is measured, by the life of the first born in the new world; the life of his immediate descendant; and the years of one, yet living, to whom that descendant was known! ⁽¹⁰⁾

To whom, on the earth, shall we pour forth the fulness of gratitude, respect and veneration? To none. It is due only to that host of heart and mind, which *was* here, but which *is*, on HIGH. Is there nothing of themselves *below*? We turn, with strong emotion, to those around us, to trace the lines of direct descent from these munificent benefactors. We delight to hear their familiar names among the living. We rejoice to be assured, that their blood now warms the hearts of men, who are worthily conscious of being the lineal representatives of the Pilgrims.

Long may these honorable memorials be borne in this community ! Far, far distant, be the day, when the sons of New-England shall cease to regard their visits to the rock, as their due homage for the greatest good that man has ever gained for man.

NOTES.

1 Page 4. In the Daily Advertiser (Boston) of July 17, 1829, appeared an obituary notice of *Samuel Davis*, Esq. who held the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Pilgrim Society. It is a just memorial of this gentleman's veneration of the Pilgrim character. It is regretted that the limits of these notes do not permit its transcription, as well from respect to the writer, as to the memory of the deceased.

2 Page 8. 'New England's Memorial,' came originally from *Nathaniel Morton*, Secretary of the Colony, who acknowledges himself to be greatly indebted to the manuscripts of Gov. William Bradford.

The work alluded to in the text, is the fifth edition of Morton's work, edited by the Hon. JOHN DAVIS, Judge of the Massachusetts U. S. District Court, and was published in December, 1826. Under the hand of this able editor, the work has been augmented and enriched by a great number of marginal notes, and a copious appendix, and comes from his hand in the form of an octavo of 481 pages. This work, descending to posterity with the sanction of the author's name, places the origin of the first New England settlement beyond doubt or question, for all future time. The historians, who are hereafter to arise, in the New World, will find this volume among the most precious materials for illustrating truth. And those who are, hereafter to enrich the literature of our country, by poetical fancy; and those who are to give to historical facts the fascination of romance, will prepare themselves, for their labors, by familiar knowledge of the contents of this work.

3 Page 9. The event here alluded to, is the visit of Edward Winslow to Massasoit, who lived at Mount Hope, where Bristol, R. I. now is. This Sachem entered into a treaty of amity with the Pilgrims, soon after their arrival, which he faithfully kept during his life. He was succeeded by King Philip, with whom an exterminating war was kept up, and which ended only with the death of Philip, in the year 1676. *Memorial*, 425.

In the Spring of 1623 Massasoit sent word to Governor Bradford, that he was ill. Edward Winslow, (who appears to have been the man relied upon, in all difficult enterprises of a civil nature, as Miles Standish was in all those which were of a hostile character,) undertook, in company with the celebrated John Hampden, (distinguished as a member of Parliament in the time of Charles the First,) to visit Massasoit, under the guidance of the faithful Hobomock. Winslow wrote a narrative of this adventure, which will be found in Davis's edition of the *Memorial*, page 366, &c. In consequence of Winslow's skilful and unwearied attention, Massasoit was rescued from the grave; and in gratitude for this kindness, he disclosed to Hobomock, that a conspiracy had been formed to *extirpate the white men*. He mentioned the names of the principal conspirators, and advised that they should be surprised, and slain. This dangerous enterprise was undertaken, and accomplished, by the gallant Miles Standish,—and the extinction of the Pilgrims, thereby, averted.

In the 2 Bel. 323-4, is an account of the desperate battle which Standish fought on this occasion. At the close of it Hobomock said, 'Yesterday Pecksuot told you, that though you were a great captain, yet you were but a little man; but to-day, I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground.' *Memorial*, 370.

4 Page 29. The centennial discourse of the Hon. Judge STORY, delivered at Salem on the 18th Sept. 1828, is particularly alluded to. In the pages 72, 73, and onwards, of this able and eloquent investigation of the causes and consequences of the emigration, the rights, sufferings, and gradual extinction of the natives, and of the cruel measure of removal, are described in a manner which does just honor to the heart and mind of the author.

The touching memorial of a number of citizens of New York, recently published, and probably drawn forth by the able numbers of *William Penn*, is also alluded to. Is there no ground to fear that retributive justice visits nations, as well as the individuals who compose them?

5 Page 30. In the memoir of the life, and eulogy on the character, of the late Judge *Waties*, of South Carolina, by Chancellor *Dessausure*, we have a work of great interest, not only to lawyers, but to all persons who take pleasure in seeing eminent merit, justly and usefully pourtrayed. The Chancellor (page 15) quotes the opinion of Judge *Waties* in the case of the administrator of *Byrne v. the administrator of Stewart*, from the 3d vol. of (his own,) *Dessausure's Equity Reports*, p. 475.

'The power and the duty of the Court to declare an act void, which violates any right of the citizen secured to him by the constitution, have been admitted on both sides, and I feel so strong a sense of this duty, that if the violation complained of was manifest, I should not only declare the act void—but in doing so, I should think I rendered a more important service to my country than I could by discharging the ordinary duties of a Judge for many years.

'It is the peculiar and characteristic excellence of the free governments of America, that the legislative power is not supreme—but that it is limited and controled by written constitutions, to which the Judges who are sworn to defend them, are authorised to give a transcendant operation over all laws that may be made in derogation of them.

'This Judicial check affords a security here for civil liberty, which belongs to no other governments in the world; and if the Judges would everywhere faithfully exercise it, the liberties of the American nation may be rendered perpetual.'

This opinion was delivered in 1794—1796, it is said in the memoir, though from the report of the case it would seem to be in 1812. In 1803 the same subject came into judgment in the important case of *Marbury v. Madison*, reported in the 1 Cranch. In this case, the opinion of the Court is given in the words of *Chief Justice MARSHALL*, of whose rank as a *man*, and as a *Judge*, it would be assuming too much, for the writer of these notes to attempt to speak in the manner in which this illustrious person should be spoken of. The following is an extract from this luminous exposition of constitutional law.

'This original and supreme will' (of the people) 'organizes the government, and assigns, to different departments, their respective powers. It may either stop here; or establish certain limits not to be transcended by those departments.

'The government of the United States is of the latter description. The powers of the legislature are defined, and limited; and that those limits may not be mistaken, or forgotten, the constitution is written. To what purpose are powers limited, and to what purpose is that limit-

ation committed to writing, if these limits may, at any time, be passed by those intended to be restrained? The distinction, between a government with limited and unlimited powers, is abolished, if those limits do not confine the persons on whom they are imposed, and if acts prohibited and acts allowed, are of equal obligation. It is a proposition too plain to be contested, that the constitution controls any legislative act repugnant to it; or, that the legislature may alter the constitution by an ordinary act.

‘Between these alternatives there is no middle ground. The constitution is either a superior, paramount law, unchangeable by ordinary means, or it is on a level with ordinary legislative acts, and like other acts, is alterable when the legislature shall please to alter it.

‘If the former part of the alternative be true, then a legislative act contrary to the constitution is not law; if the latter part be true, then written constitutions are absurd attempts, on the part of the people, to limit a power, in its own nature illimitable.

‘Certainly all those who have framed written constitutions, contemplate them as forming the fundamental and paramount law of the nation, and consequently the theory of every such government must be, that an act of the legislature, repugnant to the constitution, is void.

‘It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is. Those who apply the rule to particular cases, must of necessity expound and interpret that rule. If two laws conflict with each other, the courts must decide on the operation of each.

‘So if a law be in opposition to the constitution; if both the law and the constitution apply to a particular case, so that the court must either decide that case conformably to the law, disregarding the constitution; or, conformably to the constitution, disregarding the law; the court must determine, which of these conflicting rules governs the case. This is of the very essence of judicial duty.’

6 Page 41. How does it happen that *the history of our own country* is not made a distinct and prominent part of liberal education, and even of that which is most common and general? What proportion of those who are called on, at the age of twentyone, to exercise their civil powers, and to perform their duties, have had the means of knowing, what these powers and duties are? If a young man were desirous of informing himself of the origin, and character of the colonial governments; how the principles and sentiments grew up, which fitted the people of the colonies to desire, and to claim as a right, *Representative Government*; and how this acquisition has been

used; and how *this* self-governed community differs from *others*, which have been considered as such, and to what dangers civil and religious liberty are exposed, to what *professorship*, or to what *books*, is he to be referred? We have sometimes a glimpse of this sort of information, as in the tenth of *Chancellor KENT's* admirable lectures. Some public men, to whom the welfare of this country is confided, must qualify themselves for their stations by *instinct*; and young citizens must choose what *party* they will belong to, the first time they are called on to vote. They are much in the same state as though they were required, at twentyone, without any preparation, to choose their faith among all the christian sects. From this defect of education, some of our public men necessarily fall within that class of persons, who are described in the fourth volume of *Dr Franklin's* works, page 401.

In the American Republic we have set up an imaginary being called 'THE PEOPLE.' This being is wise, infallible, sacred. When the master spirits, *of the time*, use this phrase, they mean *themselves*, and so many *voters*, as will be sufficient to put *them*, in power. The rest are the *minority*, that is, *nobody*. In our written constitutions, 'The people' means the whole body of citizens. Their will can be known in no other way, than by taking *that*, in which a majority of them agree, to be the will of all; but the minority do not cease to be citizens, nor a part of the people; nor are the majority always the wiser part of the two, but very often much the contrary.

Why should not the moral law, applicable to self-governing communities, be taught to *the young*, while they are qualifying themselves to become citizens, and before they can become *partizans*?—Ought not those who are to be part of the people, (in the constitutional sense) to be instructed, that the *majority may do* very indiscreet and destructive acts; and may even pull down their own temple of liberty on their own heads?—May they not be cautioned against flattery, and against delusion, proceeding from the designing, and the self-deceived?—may they not be warned of the approach of those miseries, which have overtaken similar communities, from like causes? No; such things would be intolerable. *One* kind of *patriotism* would be strangled in its cradle. That such wholesome truths cannot be taught, is one of the melancholy signs of the future fate of our country.

7 Page 42. The *Pilgrim Society of Plymouth* has attracted much public notice. There is appended to the Discourse of the Hon. Mr Webster, delivered on the completion of the second century, a note

in which the successive celebrations are enumerated, commencing with the year 1769. To the names there mentioned is to be added that of the Hon. EDWARD EVERETT, who delivered a discourse in the year 1824. It is not recollected that any intermediate discourse has been published.

For the information of those who may take an interest in the Pilgrims, and their descendants; and especially, for the sake of *the young*, (by whom the memory of the Pilgrims ought to be duly honored and cherished,) the following remarks on the Pilgrim Society are presented. For many years before the revolutionary war there was an association under the name of '*The Old Colony Club*,' who celebrated the landing. It was composed of many eminent men, whose names appear among the distinguished for public services, and for individual worth. The celebration became more and more an object of general notice, and in the year 1820 the Pilgrim Society was formed, designed to include all who were descended from the Pilgrims, and such others, as were, or might be, disposed to render due honor to their memory. The principal offices have been filled,

Presidents,

HON. JOSHUA THOMAS.

JOHN WATSON, Esq.

ALDEN BRADFORD, Esq. now in office.

Vice Presidents,

JOHN WATSON, Esq.

HON. WILLIAM DAVIS, (who died while V. P.)

Dr Z. BARTLETT, now in office.

BENJAMIN M. WATSON, Esq. *Rec. Sec.*

Corresponding Secretary, vacant by death of S. DAVIS.

ISAAC L. HEDGE, Esq. *Treasurer*.

Dr JAMES THACHER, *Librarian*,

(Author of the Military Journal during the revolutionary war; and of the New Dispensatory, and from whom another work is expected.)

There is a large board of trustees residing in different parts of the State. The Society erected a building of stone with money contributed by members, and others. It is 75 feet by 35. It has a basement room,—in which the Society dine on their anniversaries; and a hall over it, in which the annual meetings are held;—and which is used for assemblies in the evening of anniversaries.

There are collected here, many memorials of the Pilgrims, and some volumes, and manuscripts, of the earliest days; and among other things the sword of *Miles Standish*. It has been the intention, and

the desire of the Society, that all the relics, and pictures, which are now dispersed in many families, (many of them at a distance from the original scene,) should be collected here, with an accurate account of each article, which in no very distant time it may be very difficult, if not impossible to obtain. There are many articles which are now known to have been in the use of those who came over in the *Mayflower*. They would not change their ownership by being confided to the care of the Society;—but if they were made the property of the Society, by gift, accompanied by proper historical accounts of them, they would be more likely to be preserved, and to gratify the honorable pride of descendants, than if left to take their chance in the succession of families. There are in the possession of Miss *Hannah White*, of Plymouth, the chair of English oak which was used by Mrs (Edward) Winslow, on board the *Mayflower*, with the iron staples, in its frame, by which it was fastened to the cabin floor. This lady has also a bag formed, by the aggregation of beads, (a sort of industry in fashion at the present day) by Mrs Winslow, to beguile the tediousness of the voyage; and a ring of gold, which contains the hair of Edward Winslow, and which has suffered no apparent change in the lapse of two centuries. The ornamental cane of John Alden, who was the first that stepped upon the rock, unless *Mary Chilton* preceded him, (see Memorial, page 377,) is in the possession of his descendant, Alden Bradford, Esq. In the Hon. *Nahum Mitchell's* history of Bridgewater, he mentions that he has the original deed, in the hand writing of *Miles Standish*, by which Ousamequin conveyed to Miles Standish and others, the land which is now Bridgewater. 7 vol. *Mass. His. Col. 2d series*, p. 139.

Mr *Pelham Winslow* is said to have the original commission of *Oliver Cromwell* to Edward Winslow and others, to execute an important enterprise against the Spaniards. He was the chief among three, and died in this service. 2d *Belk. A. B.* p. 306.

There are many other relics in the possession of descendants at Plymouth and Kingston, and elsewhere; the proper place of deposit of all which, seems to be 'Pilgrim Hall.'

The filial, affectionate, and patriotic feeling of the Plymouth gentlemen, has not been so well sustained by the descendants of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, and by others, who feel a reverence for their fame, as might have been expected. The Society have not been able to finish the building of 'Pilgrim Hall;' and they have incurred a debt of considerable amount. It is to be hoped, that the public sentiment will relieve them from the embarrassment. The accession

of members, with such contributions as may accompany membership, may discharge the present debt, and obtain a completion of their modest edifice, and make it worthy of those whom it commemorates. There are many who feel, that the most honorable sentiment, as well as the most useful one, of the human heart is, to cultivate gratitude, for the illustrious, and munificent dead. The same acts which evince this sentiment, is an example to successors. It is by such memorials that the generations which rise, and pass away, are made to feel, that they may, and do live, in fact, both before, and after their own days.

The following is a brief statement of the causes of the Forefathers' emigration.

When the ecclesiastical 'calm of despotism' was disturbed by 'the Reformation,' dissensions followed, on the continent, and in England, of exceeding bitterness; and every party either borrowed, or suffered by, the arm of civil authority. Many of the contentions were the more fierce and relentless because, they were upon the meaning of words, which had no meaning, within human comprehension. Henry the Eighth wrote a book on the side of the Pope, for which the Pope gave him the title (long retained by English monarchs) of 'Defender of the Faith;' Henry then fell out with the Roman Pontiff because he would not consent to the divorce of Catharine, that Henry might marry Ann Boleyn, whom he afterwards married and beheaded. He was not a *Reformer*. Though he established the English church in opposition to that of Rome; he was, in fact, the *Pope of England*.—He provided in his will for a fund to be used, through all future time, to pray him out of purgatory. Towards the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries England was divided into the three principal parties, (which may be said to include all others) distinguished by the names of papists, church of England men, and non-conformists, or puritans. Henry the Eighth established the English church. His son, Edward the Sixth, mitigated the severity of Henry's exactions. Mary (Henry's daughter) reestablished the Roman church. Elizabeth (her sister) reestablished the English church, which was continued by James the First, who used to say, that while he appointed Judges and Bishops, he would have what law and gospel he pleased. The *Puritans* were visited with extreme cruelties under all these changes. Elizabeth was even a more bitter enemy to them than Mary. She established a court of commissioners, before whom the Puritans were tried by interrogation, on oath. If they answered they were condemned on their own confession; if they refused to answer they were imprisoned.

In 1602 a congregation of Puritans had been formed on the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham and Lincoln, who chose for their ministers Richard Clifton, and John Robinson. Robinson was educated at Cambridge. 'He was of a learned, polished, and modest spirit ; pious and studious of the truth, largely accomplished with gifts and qualifications suitable to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ.'

The members of this flock were so much harassed by the penalties of ecclesiastical law, by confinement to their own houses; by imprisonment, and by being driven from their occupations, that they resolved on emigration. They departed for Holland. A pathetic account of their persecutions and sufferings in their attempts to escape, is well remembered in Mr *Webster's* Centennial Discourse at Plymouth, (1820.) An historical account is found in Belknap's life of Robinson. In 1608 they were established at Amsterdam; and afterwards they removed to Leyden, where they remained, in peace, till 1620. Meanwhile, apprehending that their numbers would, in time, be mingled with, and lost in the Dutch population, and for other reasons, they determined to remove to America. This country was, at that time, known by the name of Virginia, and North Virginia; to the latter, a part of Mr Robinson's flock, with some who joined them on their way, at Southampton, departed. The account given in the 'Memorial,' of their departure, is shortly this;—The *Speedwell*, of 60 tons, was purchased in Holland. In this vessel they came to Southampton, where the Mayflower, of 'nine score tons' was, which had been hired for the voyage. Their departure from Holland is thus described. (*Memorial*, page 28.)

'Being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation, the pastor teaching, a part of the day, very profitably, and suitably to the present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out of prayer, mixed with abundance of tears.'—'When they came to the place, (Delft Haven) they found the ship, and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them; and sundry came from Amsterdam, to take their leave of them. One night was spent with little sleep, with the most, but with friendly entertainment, and christian discourse. The next day they went on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of the sad, and mournful parting, to hear what sobs, and sighs, and prayers, did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, what pithy speeches pierced each others' heart, that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable, and sweet it was, to see such

lively, and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. Their reverend pastor falling on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks, commended them unto the Lord;—and then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leave, one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them.'

At Southampton they found the *Mayflower*, and the rest of their company.

The *Mayflower* and *Speedwell* sailed from Southampton the 5th of August, 1620. They had not sailed far when the *Speedwell* became leaky. They put into Dartmouth, and refitted; and sailed again; but the *Speedwell* after sailing about 100 leagues, became so leaky that it was necessary to return. Both vessels went back to Plymouth, where the *Speedwell* was abandoned; and as many as could be, were taken from her, on board the *Mayflower*, making *one hundred and one in all*. The rest went back to London. The names of these 101 will be found, in the late edition of Prince's Chronology, page 172. In Davis's New England Memorial, pages 38, 39; and 2 Belknap's A. B. p. 191.

The *Mayflower* sailed with these 101, on the 6th Sept. 1620. They met with 'many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams of the midships was bowed and cracked, but by a screw the said beam was brought into its place, and they resolved to hold on their voyage.'

Their destination was to Hudson river. But their captain had been bribed by the Dutch to land them farther North. In the beginning of November, after a very disastrous passage, they made Cape Cod. They attempted to go South, but fell in with shoals, and breakers, and finding themselves in great peril, resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and arrived in Cape Cod harbor. Here the captain (Jones) came to anchor, and required of the Pilgrims to find themselves a landing; and threatened to put them on shore and leave them, if they did not select a place for themselves. The shallop was fitted out, and manned, and the coast examined. Nearly a month was passed in this search for a place of abode. Those who know what the navigation of this coast is, in November and December, at this day, with good charts, many light houses, skilful pilots, and able seamanship, can judge what it may have been, at that day, and at that season to utter strangers, poorly qualified for such employment. While William Bradford, (afterwards Governor) was absent, on one of these exploring excursions, his wife slipped from the side of the ship, and was drowned.

From the weather and exposure, many of them contracted diseases, and their sufferings were, thereby, greatly increased.

They resolved on Plymouth, as the place of their abode, and the Mayflower had come up within about a mile and an half of the shore, which was as near as the captain would venture to approach it; and on the 22d December they commenced their landing, and on that day first step on '*the rock*'—to pass to their home in the desert. Their first object was the construction of a building in which they could store the articles they brought; and then, with such means as they had, to construct their habitations. The following occurrence is taken from Mourt's Journal copied in the Memorial, page 64.

'Jan. 12, 1621, John Goodman, and Peter Brown gathering thatch abroad, and not coming home, after their companions, put us in great sorrow. Master Leaver, with 3 or 4 men go to seek for them, but can hear nothing of them. Next day thinking the Indians had surprised them, we arm out 10 or 12 men, who go searching 7 or 8 miles, but return without discovery, to our great discomfort.

'Jan. 14.—Lord's day morning at 6 o'clock, the wind being very high, we, on shipboard, see our rendezvous in flames; and because of the loss of the two men, fear, the savages had fired it; nor can we come to help them for want of tide till 7 o'clock. At landing hear good news of the return of our two men, and that the house was fired by a spark flying into the thatch, which *instantly burnt it up*. The greatest sufferers are Gov. Carver and Mr Bradford.'

We can form some opinion of the sufferings of the Pilgrims, from the fact, that out of the 101, 44 of them died in the months of December, January, February, and March; among them were

21 of those who signed the civil compact on the 11th Nov. on board the Mayflower.

4 { Mrs Bradford,
Mrs Standish,
Mrs Allerton,
Mrs Winalow.

19 Women, children and servants.

— 44 See Memorial, page 39.

The 5th of April, 1621.—'While we are busy about our seed, our Governor, Mr Carver, comes out of the field very sick, complaining greatly of his head;—within a few hours his senses fail, so as he speaks no more, and in a few days after *dies*, to our great lamentation and heaviness.' *Prince's Chro.* p. 190.

Those who have a curiosity to see the first *Republican compact* of the new world, will find it in the Memorial, p. 37 ; in Belknap, 2 vol. p. 190 ; in Prince's Chrono. p. 171.

The Pilgrims were not *Fanatics*, nor *exclusive sectaries*. Least of all were they men of low and narrow minds. Common sufferings had made for them, a common character, and this had been moulded by the ministry of Robinson, who was respected by his countrymen at home, and on the continent ; and among the people of Holland, to whom the fugitive Christians were known, he was highly esteemed and beloved. Robinson was much in advance of the age ; and so were all his flock. It is surprising that Robinson, and his people, should be claimed, in this age of the world, under whatsoever impulse, as *intolerant exclusive sectaries*. The Pilgrims were far superior in liberality of sentiment, to those emigrants who settled in Massachusetts Colony. Roger Williams, the great apostle of liberty of conscience, resided two years among the Pilgrims, unrestrained in the expression of his sentiments, and enjoying entire esteem and respect, though he was actually expelled from the Massachusetts Colony, merely for his religious opinions. He settled Rhode Island, obtained a charter, and was Governor, (there is an interesting notice of this person by *Savage*, in his 1st vol. of Winthrop's New England, page 41.) In 1641 the Plymouth Colony passed an ordinance in these words : 'No injunction shall be put on any church, or church member, as to doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance, or circumstance, beside the command of the Bible.' The Pilgrims did not persecute the quakers. They were not infected by the delusion of *witchcraft*, which afflicted their neighbors. By wise management they avoided general war with the Indians for half a century.

Among the Pilgrims were men of good education, and of some property ; some of them had been wealthy, but their sufferings and sacrifices had impaired their estates.

John Carver, is spoken of by Belknap, as a man in high esteem among the English in Holland ; a grave, pious, prudent, judicious man, and sustaining the office of deacon in the Leyden church.

William Bradford was a man of learning, versed in six languages. There is a manuscript of his, of 1652, of singular beauty of penmanship, by which his knowledge of English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, is proved. Belknap says he had read much of history, and philosophy, but that theology was his favorite study. He left many manuscripts, which existed till 1775, when they were lost by the British taking

possession of the Old South church, in Boston, in the tower of which, they had been deposited.

William Brewster was educated at Cambridge, (England.) He was under secretary to Davison, who signed Queen Mary's death warrant; for which Davison was disgraced and imprisoned, by the *afflicted* Elizabeth; and Brewster, of course, ceased to be employed. He left (in 1644) a valuable library of which a list is extant. It comprised only a part, he having lost many volumes in the hurried escape from England.

Gov. Winslow, Gov. Prince, (who came in 1623, and who was the founder of free schools) Samuel Fuller, Isaac Allerton, (who was much employed as agent for the Colony) Miles Standish,* John Alden, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, Francis Eaton, Gilbert Winslow, and John Howland, were all well educated men. Gov. Winslow was an accomplished gentleman, and had travelled much on the continent. There were others—but there is not room to mention them. Within a few years the first comers were joined by others of like character. Josias Winslow, the son of Edward, was educated in England, and was one of the most accomplished men of that age; and highly esteemed in peace, and in war.

If great designs; if perseverance in them through all difficulties and perils; if complete success; if the intellectual and moral worth of the agents, are of any value, what class of persons can recur to the character of their ancestors, with more commendable pride than the descendants of the Pilgrims?

8 Page 43. The Washington Monument, at Baltimore, is a Doric Pillar, surmounted by a figure of WASHINGTON, fifteen feet high. The Monument stands on a hill 100 feet above the level of the tide. The whole height of the Monument, including the statue, is 176 feet.

The *Bunker Hill* Monument, (which has risen 50 feet) *is to be*, a simple granite obelisk, 30 feet square at the base, 10 feet square at the summit, and 220 feet high. When completed, it will be the highest monument in the world.

9 Page 43. The following is copied from the Memorial, page 43. 'The place of the first landing at Plymouth is satisfactorily ascer-

* The Rev. Dr John Thornton Kirkland, President of Harvard College, and Dr E. Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, descended from Miles Standish. *Belk. A. B.*

tained. Unquestionable tradition has declared that it was on a large rock at the foot of the cliff, &c. In 1774 an attempt was made to remove this rock, to a more central situation. The rock was split in the operation, and the upper part removed, and placed near (where) the court house (then was.)

The rock from which the abovementioned part was split, has a flat upper surface, three or four inches above the level of the ground. It lies in a passage way to a wharf; and is daily passed over by carts. The part which is visible, is about 20 feet in circumference. There is nothing on it, or near it, to show that it is *THE ROCK*. It is hardly to be expected that the Plymouth people should do *all*, which it concerns *ALL* to have done.

10 Page 44. The person intended is *Mrs Experience Clapp*, who now lives at Marshfield on, (or near) Peregrine White's farm, on which there is now an apple tree planted by him. He was born in Cape Harbor in Nov. 1620; and died at Marshfield, in 1704. Mrs Clapp, who retains her memory, and faculties very little, if at all impaired, is in her 88th year. She is descended from Peregrine; and knew his daughter and attended her funeral.

Among the descendants who were present at this anniversary, was the venerable *John Alden*, Esq. now in his 73d year, who is the fourth generation from John Alden of the Mayflower, and who now lives on the estate in Duxbury, which his ancestor redeemed from the wilderness. The President of the Society stands in the same remove, from the same ancestor.

It is a remarkable circumstance in one family, that the birth of Peregrine White; the decease of his father; and the marriage of his mother with Edward Winslow, are the first birth, death, and marriage which happened in the New World.







This book should be returned to
the Library on or before the last date
stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it
beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

~~APR 64~~

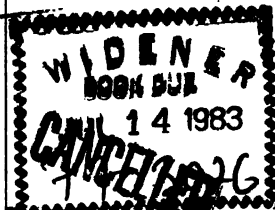
18850

~~DUE OCT 64~~

~~272936~~

~~CANCELLED~~

M 6 1982



DEC 27 1982

US 12717.12
A discourse delivered before the Pl
Widener Library 003734988



3 2044 086 353 539

